/113 cont./

221 233 241 [634] In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a seasonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Specifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the [361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the [346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are indeed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products 221 and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly [962] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'adduyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con- [273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a [832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt. [574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 221 648 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/133 cont./

22| of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
24| this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Âbdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Âbdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lînçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Âbdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[82] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[986]
[263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears
[514] the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
• [574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/187 cont./

*634 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the
616 time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

[113]

1/ Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacifica-
627 tion. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assist-
616 ance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations
571 whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics.
[574] The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the request thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Ait Teskawin" never
•574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
1 *634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

[554] [613]

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[212] [755] [358] [574]

[185] [241] [245] [624]

[778] [787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

[423]

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692] /footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[586] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and
[428] then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[591] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[574] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

[178] As a result of the general tendency toward the development of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 652 178 [431] at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule offered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 681 •574 [184] Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction. The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the [578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

609 /245 cont./

•574 I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-
[344] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the
[485] assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.
*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the
[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of
609 inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for
57 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of
556 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that
563 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the
[672] latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which
[464] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.
609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the
641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the
563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-
166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or
*634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of
563 origin, a consultation of the jema^{c}a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./
609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass
[619] into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
574 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he
*634 has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaʿin, to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaʿin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ʿar" to the jemaʿa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] [556] [471] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

*634 /274 cont./
permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
556 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
434 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar
661 by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
72 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
•[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
[595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Ber-bère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a danger-ous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circum-stances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
• [574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
•[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

175 Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
159 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
*631 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
571 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
•574 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
431 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles, 12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where, away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère /Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-569).

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539).

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TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (See Text for Sources)

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur* *tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*taimat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

571 609 574 754 171 192

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from

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